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AUTHOR Routh, Frederick B.; Waldo, Everett A.
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ABSTRACT

Separate papers address the following topics in the proceedings of this Regional Civil Rights Conference: impacting equal opportunity in public employment; strengthening state and local agencies, and improving relationships among those agencies and between them, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and other federal agencies; strengthening the local human rights agency, and the growth of civil rights agencies. The proceedings contain brief summaries of workshops and several state caucus reports (Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut). (JM)

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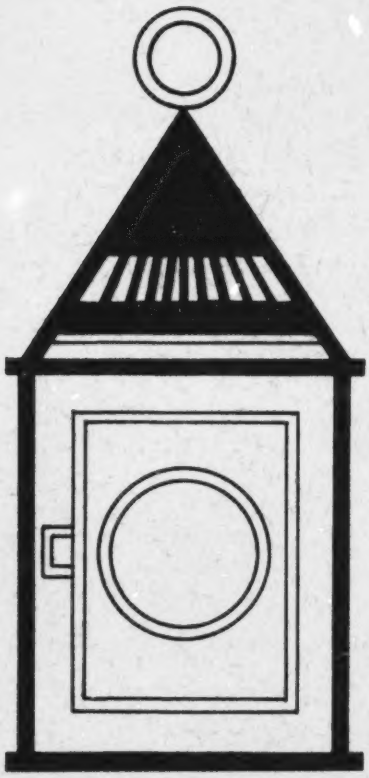
MAKING PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT A MODEL OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

A Report of the Proceedings of Regional Civil Rights Conference II
Sponsored by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Boston, Massachusetts,
September 22-24, 1974.



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U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by the Congress in 1957 to:

- Investigate complaints alleging denial of the right to vote by reason of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or in the administration of justice;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to the denial of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or in the administration of justice;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for information concerning denials of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; and
- Submit reports, findings, and recommendations to the President and Congress.

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MAKING PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT
A MODEL OF
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

A Report of the Proceedings of
Regional Civil Rights Conference II
Sponsored by the U.S. Commission
on Civil Rights in Boston,
Massachusetts, September 22-24, 1974

DEC 17 1976

PREFACE

The second of a series of regional civil rights conferences sponsored by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was held in Boston, Massachusetts, September 22-24, 1974. Participants came from the six New England States and numbered over 100. For the most part, they were staff members of State and local governmental agencies in the fields of civil rights, women's rights, and human relations.

What follows is a report of the proceedings of that conference. Major presentations are included with only minor editing; workshop sessions and special interest seminars are summarized. Every care has been taken to be faithful to the views expressed by speakers and participants alike. The rich contents of after-hour, informal discussions rest in the minds of those who participated in them and cannot be included in this report.

The content of the report does not necessarily reflect the position or policies of the Commission. Nor should it, for this would stifle the very thing one hopes from a conference: the free flow of ideas and information. Further, the Commission is charged by law "to serve as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to denials of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin..."

While primarily intended for conference participants, the Commission, and its staff, this report will be made available, on a limited basis, to others who might find it useful.

These conference proceedings were prepared by Frederick B. Routh, Director, and Everett A. Waldo, Assistant Director, of the Special Projects Unit, Office of the Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

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INTRODUCTION

Each of the regional civil rights conferences of this series, sponsored by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, is tailored to the needs of the region in which it is held. This is accomplished by having Commission staff members go to the region to meet with representatives of State and local agencies, the Commission's State Advisory Committees, and its regional staff to actually plan the conference.

In planning the New England regional conference, a dozen persons from the area met with Commission staff in a 2-day session. Out of that effort came three main topics which would be addressed at the conference: impacting equal opportunity in public employment, strengthening State and local agencies, and improving relationships among those agencies and between them and this Commission and other Federal agencies. The planning group chose as a title or theme for this conference: "Making Public Employment a Model of Equal Opportunity."

While the planning process determines the conference content and influences the design, the Commission and its staff assume the responsibility for the implementation and, also, the success or failure of the conference.

The conference, in addition to general sessions, workshops, and special interest seminars, had "State caucuses." These provided a common meeting of all persons from a given State, enabling them to get to know each other, share expectations, evaluate the conference, and plan followup activities.

This feature has proved sufficiently valuable that it has become an integral part of conferences sponsored by the Commission.

Another important feature of Commission-sponsored conferences is the provision of an information and resources center. This is a collection of publications, resource and reference materials, annotated bibliographies, and other materials related to the conference theme and to civil rights and women's rights organizations and activities. Some of the materials are for on-the-spot reference only; others are provided by the Commission and other governmental and private organizations for free distribution to conference participants. The center is kept open except when meetings are in session. Conference evaluation sheets rate this feature as one of the most valuable and popular.

A conference does not end with adjournment or when the proceedings are published. Its influence is felt for some time because of new relationships among participants and because of new program ideas they learned. Followup activities flow best from a conference if it is understood that they are expected. Contact and correspondence with participants, in the months following the New England conference, indicate the validity of this concept.

It is hoped that the publication of these proceedings, and their distribution to participants in the New England region, will kindle anew the relationships, awareness, and knowledge developed at the conference.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Keynote Address by Arthur S. Flemming, Chairman
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

I am indeed very happy to have the opportunity to come to Boston and participate in this conference. I like the theme selected by those who developed the plans for this conference, the civil rights leaders in the New England region.

When we talk about making public employment a model of equal opportunity, we are saying, in effect, that those who have the responsibility for devising and implementing policies for public employment have an obligation to set the pace in the area of equal employment opportunity. Personally, I believe that this is the case. Public bodies should have affirmative action programs in operation that are getting results. At times it is alleged that public appointing officers are at a disadvantage in this area because of alleged built-in conflicts between affirmative action and the civil service system. As one who had the privilege of serving for 9 years as a member of the U.S. Civil Service Commission and who now has the opportunity of serving as a member of the Civil Rights Commission, I have jotted down some notes on the relationship between affirmative action programs and the civil service system which I would like to share with you.

My first note is this: Civil service systems are not an end; they are a means to an end. They help to provide this Nation with a strong government capable of implementing the basic principles

incorporated within the Constitution of the United States. Whenever the basic concepts incorporated in a civil service system or the methods for operating the system are in conflict with this end they must be changed.

For example, the present civil service system as it was operating prior to World War II was incapable of contributing to the objectives of helping the Federal Government to wage the war. Suddenly the Federal Government was faced with the necessity of conducting positive recruiting programs which would provide rapidly expanding agencies with qualified persons in the shortest possible period of time. New concepts, new policies, and new methods of operation replaced concepts, policies, and methods of operation that had been evolving since 1883, when the Civil Service Act was passed. The new approaches were reflected in war service regulations under which persons appointed to the Federal service were given war service appointments.

If these steps had not been taken, the civil service system would have been set aside by the Congress. Persons inside and outside of Government would not have tolerated a situation where a civil service system was interferring with the Government's ability to prosecute the war. After the war, the war service regulations were replaced by regulations designed to make it possible for the system to serve peacetime objectives.

My second note is this: Our Nation has failed to provide many of our citizens with the equal opportunity of employment guaranteed them under the Constitution of the United States. This finding has been documented, of course, by public and private bodies, including the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Through the Executive orders, legislation, and the decisions of the courts, we have expressed in recent years our determination to remove this cancerous growth.

My third note is this: If this cancerous growth is to be removed, public appointing authorities under the leadership of and with the assistance of their civil service commission must develop and implement affirmative action programs. Inventories must be taken to determine whether in our public agencies there are fewer members of minority groups or women in each major job classification than would be reasonably expected by their availability within the designated recruiting area. Where underutilization is determined to exist positive recruiting programs must be undertaken to add minorities and women to the pool of applicants. Tests and other employment criteria must be validated to insure that they are both job related and not culturally biased. Criteria which are normally followed in the selection of persons for jobs from among applicants who have been rated qualified must be broadened to include the consideration of women and members of minority groups with the end in view of eliminating existing imbalances.

Goals and timetables must be set for correcting the underutilization of members of minority groups and women in specified job categories.

My fourth note is this: Civil service systems must be judged on the basis of their success in bringing about the installation and effective implementation of equal employment action programs. Wherever a civil service system is operating in such a manner as to result in underutilization of minorities and women in specified job categories it is contributing to the weakening rather than the strengthening of our form of government. It is helping to undermine the basic concept of equal opportunity which has been imbedded in the Constitution of the United States. It is depriving members of minority groups and women of the opportunity of earning a livelihood. It is depriving minority groups and women who are dependent on the services provided by government of the opportunity of having their needs interpreted within government by members of their own groups, persons who truly understand the worlds in which they live. The United States Supreme Court has made it clear that, unless justified by business necessity, ostensibly objective criteria for employment inside or outside the civil service system are discriminatory if they result in a relative disadvantage for minority persons and are, therefore, in conflict with the Constitution.

My fifth note is this: Whenever it is determined that there is an underutilization of minorities or women in major job classifications in an agency within a public jurisdiction, the civil service commission of that jurisdiction must take the lead in bringing personnel practices into line with the Constitution of the United States. The

civil service commission must insure that an inventory is taken to determine whether there are fewer members of minority groups or women in each major job classification than would be reasonably expected by their availability within the designated recruiting area. The commission must take the lead in the conduct of positive recruiting programs designed to add minority groups and women to the pool of applicants. The civil service commission must see to it that tests and other employment criteria are validated to insure that they are both job related and not culturally biased. This, I believe, is one of the most important obligations confronting a civil service commission. If it does not recognize and accept and discharge this obligation, discrimination and underutilization will continue to be on parade in its jurisdiction under the cloak of objectivity.

Also, the civil service commission must set the criteria for selection of qualified persons for jobs so that appointing officers are provided with discretion of making selections which will contribute to ending the underutilization of members of minority groups and women. Civil service systems, some statements to the contrary notwithstanding, have always operated in such a manner that the candidates' personality, disposition, and specialized experiences have been permitted to enter into the final decision by the appointing officer. The civil service commission must see to it that the appointing officers not only can but must exercise their judgment in such a manner as to contribute to the success of affirmative action programs.

The civil service commission must insist upon goals and timetables becoming a part of affirmative action programs, must be willing to monitor progress or lack of progress toward attainment of goals within the established timetable and, whenever it determines that progress is not being made, must be prepared to submit and to follow up on recommendations for remedial action to the executive heading the jurisdiction it serves.

A civil service commission and the civil service system which it administers must, it seems to me, do all of these things if it is to achieve what should always be the overall objective of a civil service system, namely, the strengthening of our form of government, particularly in terms of creating the capability for implementing rights guaranteed by the Constitution. A civil service commission or a civil service system which does not measure up to such a standard of performance should be set aside. The question is not whether an affirmative action program can survive within a civil service system but, rather, whether a civil service system can survive without demonstrating its ability to make whatever changes need to be made in order to make it possible for the constitutional principles incorporated in an affirmative action program to become a reality in the light of our day.

I believe in the concepts underlying our civil service system. That is why during World War II the United States Civil Service Commission did everything possible to adapt the system to the needs of the Nation. This is why I want to see everything done that can

be done to demonstrate that today's civil service system can become a vigorous ally in the crusade for equal employment opportunity in which many of us are engaged. We must never lose sight of the fact, however, that the end to be achieved is equal employment opportunity and that civil service systems must always be regarded as one of the means for achieving the end.

My sixth and final note is this: Public civil rights agencies at all levels of government are in a position to make significant contributions to the objective of making public employment a model of equal opportunity. They can conduct studies and hold hearings to determine to what extent there is an underutilization of members of minority groups and women in job classifications within the public bodies within their jurisdictions. They can determine the reasons for this underutilization. They can call for, monitor, and assess affirmative action programs within the public agencies within their respective jurisdictions.

The emphasis should be on affirmative action programs within each of the public bodies within a jurisdiction and on the progress or lack of progress in implementing those affirmative action programs in each agency. I am interested in overall statistics, but I am even more interested in progress or lack of progress within each of the public agencies within a jurisdiction. Certainly, these public civil rights agencies can make studies designed to ensure that civil service commissions and civil service systems are contributing to the success of affirmative action programs rather than providing reasons for failure on the part of public officials to establish and then implement these programs.

Near the close of his book dealing with his years as President, the late President Eisenhower in summing up his views on certain issues said this about equality before the law. "The Supreme Court," he said, "has made a notable decision declaring the intent of the Constitution to be the assurance of equality before the law of all citizens regardless of such irrelevant factors as race, color, or religion. Every good American has the moral as well as the legal obligation to make reality of these purposes."

The United States Commission on Civil Rights in a February 1973 Statement on Affirmative Action for Equal Employment Opportunities opened the concluding section with these two sentences: "The moral and ethical imperatives of affirmative action in employment should need no further expansion. This need, we trust, was accepted by the American public long ago." I believe that, if we are to make progress in the direction of achieving the objective of equal employment opportunity, we must recognize that we are dealing with a moral and ethical as well as a legal obligation. When I think in these terms my mind always turns to the commandment that is at the very center of our Judeo-Christian tradition; namely, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." I once had the opportunity of reading a sermon which used this as its text. In this sermon the minister said that this commandment does not place upon us the responsibility to like our neighbor. He pointed out that, after all, this is something we cannot be commanded to do, but this is a feeling that must come from within.

He went on to say that it likewise does not place upon us a responsibility of approving of everything that our neighbor says or does. But he did say that it does place upon us a responsibility of never passing up an opportunity to help our neighbor achieve his or her highest potential.

My colleagues on the Commission in 1973 were undoubtedly right when in their statement they said that the moral and ethical imperatives of affirmative action need no further expansion. There may very well be a fairly widespread intellectual acceptance of these imperatives. There has not, however, been the widespread spiritual acceptance of these imperatives that leads to meaningful and significant action. If there had been, we would not tonight be confronted with the factual record that we all recognize in this area. I believe, therefore, that those of us who are working in the civil rights field must place at the top of our priorities the strengthening of the spiritual foundation of the Nation. We need more persons who are willing to implement in their own lives, whether they are in or out of public office, the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

STRENGTHENING STATE AND LOCAL AGENCIES

Presentation by Kathryn F. Clarenbach, Founder,
National Association of Commissions on Women;
Chairperson, Wisconsin Governor's Commission on the
Status of Women

The time for exhortation from human-civil rights agencies is past. The legal framework for equal employment opportunities is on the books and public policy re affirmative action is clear. The paydirt, however--implementation of law and policy--is still ahead.

We know our job includes evaluation of public employment at all levels--publicizing deficiencies, urging improvements, and recommending changes. But serving as such watchdogs and goal-setters is not enough. To stand outside the actual process and goad and cajole will not be sufficient to effect the kinds or the rate of change we all regard as imperative.

We must move into the actual live operations of government agencies which control or relate to public employment. And we must do this with persistence, inventiveness, and helpfulness in as many ways as possible. Among these ways are:

(1) Help assure the election of truly committed people as Congresspeople, State legislators, Governors, district attorneys, and to judiciary and local posts.

If a human rights official deems it inappropriate to endorse candidates openly, certainly making public an incumbent's record is appropriate. A well-informed, motivated constituency of private citizens will not be constrained from campaigning.

Remember that today's backlash is finding expression in the courts. The choice of judges is vital.

(2) Graduate human relations personnel from their roles in human relations agencies to line agencies (appointive, civil service, elective,especially CETA and other manpower agencies), thus swelling those ranks with like-minded officials--replace them in human rights agencies with new trainees.

(3) Commitment at the top is a must. To assist Governors, mayors, department heads who give lip service to equal rights, draft executive orders, proclamations, guidelines, letters of commendation or disapproval, procedures or plans for their issuance.

Know which office has the responsibility or possibility to take the next step and make it as easy as possible for them to do so.

(4) Encourage Governor-mayor-county executive to name minority person(s) and feminist(s) to staff, to help assure responsive and sensitive actions as ongoing policy. Be prepared with nominees.

(5) Do not leave implementation of affirmative action in the hands of those who have already failed to provide it:

a) Help draft affirmative action plans.

b) Assist in outreach and recruiting to reach goals.

c) Provide or arrange for provision of adequate inservice training programs and staff.

d) Develop evaluation instruments and be evaluator.

(6) Conduct research, prepare and distribute publications designed to show how to achieve results; e.g.:

"Best person for the job" (Wisconsin IPA-funded study to remove box from around clerical occupations).

"Career ladders" (this publication for clerical workers--how to move up and out).

"Women in apprenticeships--why not?"

"Review of Dictionary of Occupational Titles."

(7) Work to change civil service rules and procedures, via legislation or administrative action, with reference to such needed modifications as:

flexible hours of employment;

flexible job descriptions;

better on-the-job training;

elimination of veterans' preference;

improved outreach, promotion process, buddy systems, etc.;

child care;

nonsexist, nonracist job analysis and ratings;

nonsexist, nonracist job titles;

ethnic, gender, and economic status valued as prerequisite for job.

(8) Aim for goal of accountability to human-civil rights as an essential requirement in every public position, with failure as grounds for dismissal--it will be amazing how many fast learners and converts this will create.

(9) Full employment as a national priority is a sine que non for equal, fair employment.

(10) Equal treatment under the law assumes a constitutional guarantee which 51 percent do not have. Every human rights agency should actively support ratification of the equal rights amendment.

STRENGTHENING THE LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS AGENCY

Presentation by Virginia Coffey, Former Director,
Cincinnati Commission on Human Relations

Human rights agencies were probably at the height of their effectiveness in the late sixties and early seventies when there was almost perfect unanimity on the objectives of the civil rights movement. We worked for school desegration, affirmative action in employment, open housing, equality in public accommodation, and equal justice for all. And there was a vast group of private citizens committed to these ideas who joined hands with committed professional workers to work for those goals. True, there were many dramatic events during that time which served to test the expertise and techniques of the agencies, but they met the challenge in a beautiful way.

Then, to quote John Buggs, "a malaise settled over the Nation so far as civil rights are concerned, and the once public clamor for progress and change has now almost turned into a belief that all that needed to be done has been done."

An interesting phenomenon is occurring--we have the backlash--and we are now being attacked on the advances that had been made!

Example: In the North all professed to believe in integration and school desegregation. Now in the North, we are fighting against it with as much or more vigor than the Southerners. For example, contrast the Little Rock incident of 1962 with Boston of 1974. Is there much difference?

As for education, it would be a laughing matter if it weren't so deplorable. We have members of school boards who haven't the slightest interest in children or their curriculum needs, who serve at the behest of their political parties. Thus, schools are no longer the seat of learning but simply daily depositories for our youth.

Affirmative action is being attacked as simply discrimination in reverse. Examples:

(1) the De Funis case.

(2) At University of Cincinnati, women accusing the university of giving blacks more and better positions than white women.

(3) Question of black administrators: (a) "vice president" title changed to "vice provost"; excuse used for change: the provost is more closely tied to the academic operations than to the administrative. (b) hiring black administrators--why pay them more? (c) worst of all, sensational reports emanating from the State auditor's office accusing the university of gross discrimination in reverse because of its recruitment and preentry training of blacks.

As for <u>equal justice</u>, the situation has been so incredibly bad for so long that young people, especially minority youth, are responding to their frustrations by committing an alarming number of purely heinous crimes.

An old word began to take on new meaning, new conceptualization. The word was power.

Grassroots people struggled with the realization that they wanted some of what the other people had--power. And it was a whole new ball game! Politicans began squirming and sought ways and means of lessening the credibility gap between themselves and the "lesser" people whom they now realized they needed. And in many cases, human rights agencies were caught in the middle. Politicians--mayors, councilpersons, etc.--on the one hand, and the "people," on the other, questioning the need for a human relations agency or, whether or not an untrained "street person" could be more effective than a trained human rights professional.

And, "why do we need the expense of an agency when I can hire my own man on my staff who can supply me with all the information I need about <u>those</u> people? Well, just so it won't seem so drastic, I'll just combine them with some other insignificant department, etc."

Joke? It is no laughing matter. It has happened. And what to do about it: <u>strengthening local human rights agencies</u>. <u>Power</u> seems to be the key word; there are all sorts of ways of achieving it. Some agencies have enforcement powers, others do not. Whichever one you represent, the greatest power rests with our constituencies; in other words, those whom we touch directly or indirectly and those whom we should be touching or influencing in some manner.

To build power calls for diversified action and it requires flexibility to meet new challenges.

Last year our newly-elected mayor spoke at a Cincinnati Human Relations Commission board and staff development workshop, and he challenged, "Build your constituency. I know you and I commend

you, but do not assume that they: (1) know about you, or (2) approve of your efforts, or (3) support your efforts." So who are our constituents? The ostensible power bases: politicians, business, industry, old line first families, ethnics, or the others--migrants, the not informed, the disenchanted. I say we need them all, for in each segment of our population there is leadership, to be cultivated, cajoled, and enlisted.

To bring about positive action which leads to positive change can only be accomplished to the extent that we significantly cultivate constituents. We can't do this alone, but our constituents can influence all of these sources. Who are these sources? For my purposes I separate them into two categories: (1) The "in" or "inside" group consisting of city administration, departments and commission, and/or mayor and mayor's aides; (2) the "out" groups: politicians--local, State, Federal; labor; business and industry; religious groups; universities--staff and students (who vote at age 18); women; special interest groups; community agencies, public and private; neighborhood associations and councils.

How do we do it? By diversified action.

(1) We must become politically astute. Local agencies should be alert to political machination and motivations of elected officials.

(2) We must involve many citizens.

(3) We must develop techniques for mobilizing our constituency to the point that our position will receive adequate recognition.

(4) We must take our program to the people through field offices, public meetings, forums, and through media communication--press,

newsletters, brochures, pamphlets, reports, radio, and TV.

(5) We must add on constituent groups where feasible; such as city hall volunteers, thus developing leadership.

(6) We must employ competent, committed staff to carry out the policies and programs developed by the agency.

(7) We must acquire adequate budgets and secure major funding at the local level, inasmuch as the Federal Government does not have specific programs for funding local human relations agencies.

(8) We must insist on operating from a physical structure that dignifies the image of the agency. Contrast the morale factor of operating from a dingy basement or building far distant from city hall, to a clean, modern, and attractively decorated office in or near city hall.

No one technique answers all the varying needs and contingencies. We must try diversified techniques and dare to be innovative. Above all, never assume that everyone knows your story or believes in good human relations. You have to work at it all the time.

THE GROWTH OF CIVIL RIGHTS AGENCIES

Presentation by Tom Peloso, Deputy Director
Michigan Department of Civil Rights

Official civil rights agencies have been with us for some 30 years now. Their responsibilities and their jurisdictions have continued to grow. However, the size of the agencies has not grown as rapidly as the responsibilities or the population. Some official agencies, however, have grown faster than others. I would like to share my ideas of why the Michigan Department of Civil Rights has become, proportionate to population, the largest State agency. New York State has more employees but must serve a much larger population. Some agencies have barely grown at all during the years that they have been in existence. Currently, the Michigan Department of Civil Rights has 274 employees plus eight Commissioners and has offices in 10 cities.

Early Beginnings

The Michigan Civil Rights Commission began life when the new Michigan constitution became effective on January 1, 1964. At that time, the staff consisted of 17 employees transferred from the Fair Employment Practices Commission. The FEPC had been established in 1955 and was handling about 300 complaints a year when it went out of business. It is interesting that it transferred to the Michigan Civil Rights Commission a workload of 64 active complaints.

The first annual report of the Commission lists the beliefs held by the Commissioners and staff at that time. They were, in brief:

1. That constitutional legal prohibitions against discrimination are not enough. What is required is positive affirmative action by the leadership of business, labor, public education, social agencies, and all the other institutions of our communities and government.

2. The civil rights struggle is inseparable from efforts to resolve basic social and economic problems in the field of education, employment, housing, law enforcement, and social services..

3. And most important to this paper: That the commission will never have enough budget and staff to provide every community in this State with programs required; and, further, that there is no substitute for the democratic process of local leadership solving local problems.

4. That the commission should anticipate problems, tension, and conflict and try to achieve approaches, remedies, and solutions before there is need for drastic public reaction.

As far as law was concerned, we had two strong constitutional articles establishing our jurisdiction, one which stated simply that "no person shall be denied the equal protection of the law nor shall any person be denied the enjoyment of his civil or political rights or be discriminated against in the exercise thereof because of religion, race, color or national origin." We had a strong fair

employment practices act which is still the basis of our activities in the elimination of employment discrimination. (The act was later amended to add age and sex to the covered groups.) A rather narrowly drawn public accommodations act from the 19th century which had been amended in the 1920's constituted another useful piece of legislation. The constitutional article setting up the commission stated in part, "It shall be the duty of the Commission....to investigate alleged discrimination against any persons because of religion, race, color or national origin in the enjoyment of the civil rights guaranteed by law and by this constitution and to secure the equal protection of such civil rights without such discrimination." The same article further states, "The legislature shall provide an annual appropriation for the effective operation of this Commission." However, we do not believe that the legislature has ever provided all of the money that we need for effective operation of our commission.

Staff

In addition to the executive director and the deputy director, other key staff positions were in the areas of housing, education, and community relations. These were filled by reaching into the experienced staff of the Detroit Commission on Community Relations, AntiDefamation League, and other State agencies.

We were also fortunate in having an attorney as general counsel during our formative years who was not cowed by the distinguished legal minds on the commission and who had a broad community base and a working relationship with other attorneys that could bring us sound legal advice from throughout the United States.

Work Grows

I need not remind this group that the late 1960's were the era of confrontation. Detroit had its second riot in 1967. The first, in 1943, gave birth to the Detroit Commission on Community Relations, always a strong ally of our State commission. In addition, we had disturbances of various kinds in a half-dozen other cities during this period. The 1970's brought aggressive action to integrate schools with its busing remedies. Our community services division worked with these problems throughout the history of the agency and had played a key role in formulating the solutions. In addition to education, housing, and community relations, this staff was expanded a few years ago to include a unit which works exclusively with Latin Americans.

It is in the compliance or law enforcement operation, however, where our agency has grown the most, not only in the number of complaints handled, but also in the number of staff members (176) available to do this work. This growth has come in a State which

has perhaps the toughest State courts that I know of, a suspicious and sometimes hostile legislature, and a budget subcommittee headed by a legislator dedicated to cut our agency's budget rather than expand it. In addition, we have the largest industry, the automobile industry, and the world's largest corporation, General Motors, within our jurisdiction.

As I look back on our first 10 years, I believe we have grown for three reasons.

1. We have had commissioners with community stature who were dedicated to eliminating unlawful discrimination and competent staff members equipped to do the job.
2. We have not been afraid to tackle the tough cases against the large companies and powerful adversaries.
3. We have had the data necessary to support our positions when the going got tough.

Commissioners and Staff

Our commission has a Latino and three women, two of whom are attorneys. I believe we have gotten good commissioners because, of the two Governors in the history of our commission, both have expressed a commitment to civil rights and both have attempted to

appoint the best available persons to the commission, whenever there was a vacancy. Although appointed as partisans, our commissioners have never advised us to hold back for partisan political considerations. This has had an important influence on the independence of our agency.

Our staff members were recruited under one of the toughest civil service systems in the United States. (Sometimes we say in spite of the civil service system.) Our staff is one of the best qualified, best integrated, and highest paid in the United States. We have attempted to provide considerable training, tight supervision, and we are proud that we have never had to dismiss a staff member for compromising the position of the commission in any case. All of the automobile companies have dipped into our staff for equal employment opportunity employees, the Federal EEOC in Detroit is staffed almost exclusively by ex-employees of our agency, and Wayne State University, with one of the largest minority enrollments in the United States, has a former commissioner as president, a former deputy director as vice president, and the former director of our contract compliance program as head of the university's contract compliance and equal opportunity program. That's a pretty good track record for any organization. One of our former commissioners is director of the department of management and budget.

As staff members have left, we have promoted, usually from within, and have come up with an even stronger staff than we had before. While in the early days the average staff member had a history of experience as a volunteer in the civil rights field, today the persons we are recruiting for our staff tend to be well educated and emphasize their professional qualifications rather than their emotional interest in the field.

Tackling The Tough Cases

Early on, the lawyer members of our commission urged us to establish our jurisdiction in the various areas through precedent established in handling cases rather than seeking legislative clarification of our constitutional mandate. This was slow--in fact it is still not completed--but I believe this was the correct course.

One of our early cases, which went to the State supreme court, dealt with establishing that a real estate office is a place of public accommodation. As a result of the opinion issued by the Michigan court, our agency has jurisdiction to enforce all Michigan laws dealing with civil rights and all appropriate Federal laws dealing with civil rights. This has given us an additional handle on difficult cases.

In the field of employment, we have tackled the automotive giants and we have gotten significant adjustments at the conciliation level, at the public hearing level, and at the court level when it was necessary to go that far. And, as you know, you don't win cases against companies of this size unless you have good staff who have the facts, follow the law, and pursue the case with aggressiveness.

Having the Facts

From the beginning, we have stressed the importance of having accurate information about any situation in which we may become involved, whether it's a community situation or a case, or once a year when we approach the legislature for budget.

We know that we have needs for certain types of information. Various internal and external management studies and auditor general reports have suggested other information that would help us comply with rules and regulations or to answer questions about our operation. Other experience has taught us that the legislature habitually asks certain kinds of questions (such as "what is your oldest case?") and we had better be able to supply the answers. We systematically collect and share with appropriate State, Federal, and local agencies information of three types.

1. Demographic and social information about the State and the communities in which we operate. This information is collected by our research and planning division, using census reports, school

reports, EEO-1's, and other appropriate material. This is summarized in tables and made available to our district offices, our program services units, and to other State and local agencies, allied private human rights agencies, and others. It's this kind of information that tells us who needs services and where.

2. Statistics on contractors collected in our contract compliance program. We have a strong State regulation and we have weathered the few serious challenges to our authority. Each time we have been hit, we have been able to show through our records that what we were asking of a contractor in order to come into compliance with Michigan regulations was reasonable, possible, and consistent with demands on other contractors. Currently, we share this information on an ad hoc basis with contract compliance units in five Michigan cities. This is a helpful service for local communities, either for basic information about a contractor or to confirm the findings of a local civil rights agency. This is an area where there is need for Federal, State, and city cooperation. I would like to see standards established that meet the needs of all jurisdictions and the sharing of information between jurisdictions so that costly duplicative reviews would not be made. The availability of such information as collected by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance or by the State contract compliance agency would allow a smaller unit of government such as a city or county to have a contract compliance program at a very small cost. Also, I think it's time that what we're asking for in the way of contract compliance is related to what we're asking for in conciliation of

complaints of discrimination. Such information would allow us to move ahead much faster, would provide a defense against those public officials who think we sometimes are moving too far and too fast as compared to other jurisdictions.

3. Complaint data. In Michigan, we have handled an excess of 23,000 complaints in the past 10 years and have amassed a vast amount of data about these complaints. This information is computerized and is available on relatively short notice to management to back up decisionmaking, answer critics, and insure that the complaint process is managed properly. We regularly print out the following reports:

a) The status of all cases as to whether they are in investigation, conciliation, or some step of hearing or legal review.

b) An alphabetical list of cases by respondent so that we can see how many complaints are outstanding at any given time against a single respondent.

c) Cases assigned to supervisors. This shows us what the workload is of any of our work units in investigation and conciliation.

d) Complaints by basis. This shows us on what basis complaints are being filed at any given time--whether it's race, religion, color, sex, age, etc.

e) Complaints by nature. This shows us whether complaints are filed in the areas of employment, which is our largest category, housing, public accommodations, education, etc.

f) Cases closed by type of adjustment. This has been one of the most valuable kinds of information that we computerized. We can tell you in housing cases, for example, how many persons received the house they wanted or another suitable house as the result of filing a complaint with us. In employment cases, we have a wealth of information. We can tell you if the employee was rehired or reinstated, if he was promoted, and how much money he gained on an annual basis as the result of our adjustment of his complaint. We have a tough budget bureau and a tough legislature. It's helpful to be able to tell them how much money we gained for persons who filed complaints with us as the result of our activity. It runs into millions of dollars each year.

g) We periodically run a table on the age of complaints--a tabulation on how many complaints were filed in any given month of any year which are still open. That way, we can find out which complaints have been around our shop too long and need additional managerial attention in order to get them moving. This information, too, has been very valuable in dealing with the legislature which constantly accuses us of being too slow. Since we've has an accurate data system, the age of the complaints has been steadily reduced and, right now, we don't have very many complaints you would consider "too old"--unless, of course, they

proceed to court and are caught up in the legal system over which we have little control. We can gain other information from our computerized complaint data system. In fact, during the year, we get probably a hundred different kinds of reports as necessary. As manager, it is very helpful to me to be able to ask a question about the total complaint operation and get my answer in a table on one sheet of paper rather than listening to a person trying to explain to me the status of several hundred or several thousand complaints. I want and can get the exceptions.

If I had one recommendation to make to a larger civil rights agency, it would be to develop a strong data system and share information when they need it with the smaller agencies. It's awfully hard for anyone to argue with a computer, particularly if the system for data collection and production is sound.

Conclusion

I believe our commission has grown to the size that it is now because we have had commissioners who have been able to rise above petty partisan considerations and provide strong guidance and leadership for our agency. We have had a strong professional staff of the greatest integrity. We have not been afraid to do the jobs that needed to be done, regardless of the size of the institution we have had to tackle. We have provided support to local human rights agencies and private groups. And through our information system, we've had the data necessary to answer our own management problems

as well as our sternest critics. With these things going for us, we have grown; and I am confident that we will continue to grow so long as the need exists and we can demonstrate effective impact in the areas of our jurisdiction.

CLOSING GENERAL SESSION REMARKS

by Manuel Ruiz, Jr.

Member, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

I want to welcome you to the final session of this regional civil rights conference, "Making Public Employment a Model of Equal Opportunity."

It is my privilege to preside over this, perhaps the most important of all of our sessions. Before we receive the reports from your deliberations, I would like to offer some observations of my own about civil rights in America today.

Some of our ancestors, many of whom professed to be moral and religious persons and who subscribed to the tenets of the Golden Rule, raided the Indian pantry of North America and stripped it from its inhabitants with a ravenous appetite. I don't believe that many of us, today, are any better or worse than those arrivals who preceded us to this continent.

We, as the descendants and successors of the original raiders, have now consolidated our position in this country, from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean. We never stopped to quarrel among ourselves over the spoils which we plundered or traded at arm's length from the original natives.

I am a Chicano and this is the first time in history, in the history of the United States, that a Mexican American who was born in the most southern, western tip of this country, has traveled to the most northerly, eastern tip of this country to speak with a

group of New England Americans on the subject of human and civil rights. Within the United States, which we now claim for ourselves, and our urban city centers, the northeastern Americans have called themselves New Englanders even though they are no more English or Englanders than I. This change in Boston, today, tells us that we are a family of outsiders who came here to live together and to ply our faith in one way or another, whether we deserve it or not.

My presence here, today, as a Commissioner, is a symbol of other ethnic constituencies which exist in prominent numbers in many areas of our national bloodstream. It is a constituency which joins all Americans and New Englanders in a common concern of urgency, which is nationwide.

We are being constantly reminded that we made some rules, around 200 years ago, as to how we are going to live together once we consolidate our position in this land of milk and honey. When we observed that some of the rules and regulations of our nation were impinging on the rights of other members of our national family, we amended the rules to protect us from ourselves. These were rules intended to give every one of us an even break. It was a self-imposed set of rules which read that we must have the same advantages and opportunities for public service and for supervisory employment whether we be black, white, yellow, brown, or polka dot.

The civil service rules, which we adopted to keep peace amongst ourselves and to eliminate the systems of unfair patronage, are in need of correction.

We have, for the past 2 days, been analyzing the breakdown of the civil service structure, not from without but from within the system itself. We have gone through the experience of diagnosing something which the Chairman, in his opening address, identified as cancerous within our body politic. With proper treatment, at this time of our young existence of only 200 years, we can stop its insidious and treacherous spread. Further spreading will require massive but futile doses of cobalt which, for lack of timely application, may require the destruction of the patient in an attempt to save his life.

Summary of the State Caucus Reports

During the conference the participants of each State met three times in caucuses to share expectations and make plans for taking best advantage of the resources of the conference, and to propose ways to follow up on the conference experience in the months immediately following. Each caucus reported on these and other matters at the closing general session.

Each report reviewed the attendance from the particular State at the conference with regard to the value and weakness inherent in each representation. Where personnel departments, Governors' offices, and attorneys general were represented as well as human rights agencies, the delegations felt more confident about the possibilities of followthrough than where those high-level offices were not represented.

Each report related the conference experience of the caucus to the most intently felt human rights situation in the particular State. The employment of women in Vermont was described as a problem underway to solution, but some "hitherto all male departments still need tackling." The Vermont report said that the hiring of women and minorities cannot be solved by replacing nonminority male workers with a minority or female worker, but it must be approached by creating more employment opportunities and by removing unecessary bias in employment and promotion processes in State governmental agencies.

The Massachusetts caucus recognized there are resources throughout the State, such as citizens' groups formerly working on human rights and fair housing, which could be used to monitor equal employment practices of public employers.

The Rhode Island caucus reported a need to inform the public at the grassroots level of institutional racism and build community support for efforts towards its elimination, as well as support for enforcement of equal opportunity provisions in public employment.

Each in its own way, the caucuses all recognized the value and need of closer communication, cooperation, and collaboration in achieving goals in the areas of civil rights, human relations, and women's rights. Plans were made among the caucuses of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine to meet again to work on means to continue sharing problems and seeking solutions in areas of mutual interest. The Massachusetts caucus suggested the conference was a forerunner of bringing diverse people working in human rights issues together again.

The caucus reports also brought valuable criticism to the Commission about the weaknesses of the conference as well as about perceived weaknesses in the Commission's activities. These criticisms were welcomed by the Staff Director as a contribution toward strengthening future conferences and Commission programs.

Other concerns raised in the caucuses included greater facility to launch effective public information programs, development of a

central clearinghouse for technical and legal information on civil rights developments, information on strategies which have achieved results, and the need for State-level human rights agencies to acquire enforcement powers (where such powers do not exist) and capability to implement those powers.

The reporters for the caucuses were William Kemsley, Vermont; Berel Firestone, New Hampshire; Linda Dyer, Maine; Julius Bernstein, Massachusetts; Lillian McDaniel, Rhode Island; and Antonio Diaz, Connecticut.

Concluding Address

By John A. Buggs, Staff Director,

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

I am not going to ask you to sit through a long closing address, but I do want to discuss with you for a few moments the significance of regional conferences on civil rights. As you know, this particular conference is the second in a series which the Commission will sponsor in the various regions of the Nation. These regional conferences are something new to the Commission. In the past, this Commission has discharged its responsibility in three basic ways: (1) public hearings--a quasi-legislative process designed to find facts with reference to the denial of equal protection of the law under the Constitution because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; (2) research into the situation facing minorities and women in the fields enumerated in our statute; and (3) the establishment of Advisory Committees in each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia--these Committees having the responsibility to serve as the eyes and ears of the Commission in their respective States and to report to the Commission their recommendations for the amelioration of the problems they uncover. These three approaches have, we believe, served well the cause of civil rights.

Some 4 years ago, before I came to the Commission, it was suggested that the Commission should institute a new vehicle to deal more effectively with changes that had taken place in the civil rights field. Beginning in 1964, Federal law and Executive orders had

provided some enforcement powers to a newly created agency--the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission--and to almost every department and agency of the Federal Government. Our Commissioners felt that it was important to establish a means of monitoring the stewardship of these Federal departments and agencies as far as their civil rights responsibilities were concerned. Since 1970, therefore, the Commission has issued periodical reports on the "Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort." This has been an important and fruitful departure from the traditional manner in which the Commission discharged its responsibility. We believe our critical analyses of the civil rights efforts of the Federal Government have served to provide a basis upon which those Federal officials who wanted to do a creditable job were placed in a better position to do so.

There is, within the Federal Government, a serious need to more effectively coordinate the enforcement efforts of the various laws administered by several Federal agencies. Overlapping jurisdiction, uncoordinated approaches by two or more Federal agencies to a single respondent, the application of different standards in determining compliance or noncompliance are a few of the problems that respondents have a right to demand to be solved.

Within the last several years, literally hundreds of State and local public agencies have been created in answer to the demand for relief from discrimination and segregation. These agencies are generally more familiar with the problems in their city,

county, and State than are Federal agencies. They are, in my opinion, much more likely to perceive accurately the point at which intervention would be most effective in almost any type of civil rights problem. State and local agencies could be, therefore, a tremendous force in their own right and an important ally of the EEOC and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance in suggesting those areas and those institutions most in need of their attention.

Almost 2 years ago, at the request of the then president of the International Association of Human Rights Agencies, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was responsible for convening a small group of Federal officials to meet with a few State and local civil rights officials. That was one of the few times that such a meeting, designed to exchange information on each others' programs and policies, had been formally held. I do not believe another has been held since that time. Our problems are too big, too complicated, and the means to deal effectively with them now require too much sophistication to permit us to attempt their solution in isolation from each other.

There is need for an exchange of ideas, methods, and techniques for dealing more effectively with the problems facing these groups, and a cooperative effort in that connection among agencies at every level of government is urgently necessary.

The planning for this conference was symbolic of the type of cooperation which I believe we all seek. Representatives of the Commission's staff met with representatives of State and local civil rights agencies and State commissions on the status of women. Together they hammered out the issues which are of greatest concern to State and local agency leadership. Some issues which the Commission staff thought were of major concern were abandoned when State and local staff felt otherwise.

As the former director of a local agency without enforcement powers, the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, I know some of the frustrations of dealing with Federal agencies. They always seemed to come to tell us what was wrong and what they were doing to correct it. They never asked us what programs we thought might alleviate or resolve our problems. Too often, like the oracle of old, they spoke in lofty terms and, before they could be pinned down to any specifics, they were gone. A Federal "roadshow" is of little help to State or local agencies. What is called for, I repeat, is a genuine exchange of information, an honest exploration of areas of possible cooperation, an acknowledgement that no one agency has a corner on the market of wisdom, a recognition that different agencies legitimately play different roles, and finally--and let me stress this--
<u>we are allies</u>, <u>not adversaries</u>, in the struggle for human dignity.

If we are to be allies, in any real sense of the word, we must be able to come together and we must establish and nourish

lines of communication. That is why I believe conferences, such as this, are of significance. I remember in Los Angeles that we had a strong sense of being isolated, even lonely. Information on issues of commanding importance seemed to stop at the Rockies. Some of you must feel that they stop at New York City. Our Commissioners and I are pledged to the task of assisting you in breaking down barriers and of opening lines of communication and cooperation among human rights agencies at the Federal, State, and local levels.

The title chosen for this conference encompasses one of the most important areas with which human rights agencies are concerned--insuring the right of women and minorities to provide for themselves and their families. Access to jobs without discrimination in any fashion for these classes of our population is the goal, and affirmative action to accomplish that objective is the means.

It should be no news to anyone in this room that for almost 2 years now the concept of affirmative action has been under serious attack and that attack has not subsided. In fact, in some ways it is accelerating. Just last week Senator Buckley of New York, testifying before a committee of the Senate, launched an attack on affirmative action that will surely be followed by others in the halls of Congress. We have seen how some of our friends in the Congress and in State legislatures throughout the land have sublimated their consciences to their political ambition in the area of school desegregation. It is not difficult to predict that the next accomplishment of the

civil rights movement to come under sustained attack will be affirmative action.

Because there is no such thing as equal opportunity without affirmative action, many of those who oppose equal opportunity itself will find it more politically convenient to speak out against affirmative action. Others who honestly believe in equal opportunity fear affirmative action as being, in some fashion, inimical to their best interests. Because in many instances our good friends and our implacable enemies will be saying essentially the same thing, our job becomes that much more difficult.

Public employment is the testing ground. If we can succeed there, the rest should be relatively easy; for, if government sets the standard of behavior, private enterprise will be more likely to fully accept the challenge. Your agencies must be the means through which pressure is applied to every governmental agency with which you are associated. For those that have enforcement powers, those powers must be exercised without fear or favor. For those human rights agencies without such powers, the jawbone technique is always available. Only the constant pressure of the law--if one is available--or the constant expression of moral and ethical indignation--if one is not--will accomplish our objective.

It is our hope that the 2 days we have spent together here in Boston have served to highlight the issues in the area of public employment, to provide a vehicle for the exchange of information that will lead to effective action, and to firm

up the relationship between public human rights agencies in the northeastern region of the Nation. In the final analysis it is not what we did here that will decide the future of equal opportunity in public employment in your State, but what you do back home.

SUMMARY OF WORKSHOPS

There were three major workshops, each of which met on three separate occasions during the conference. They dealt with the subjects of "Impacting Public Employment," "Strengthening State and Local Agencies," and "Interagency Relationships." During their first session each one sought to identify the known and perceived problems in attaining effectiveness in their respective subject areas. During their second meeting they began the process of suggesting approaches and possible solutions to the problems identified at the first meeting; they also prepared questions to ask Federal officials who appeared later on in the program. At the third session each reviewed the progress of the conference content and projected followup activities in their respective areas.

The summary which follows cannot represent the total experience of the discussions in the nine separate sessions. It attempts, however, to present an honest review of the most important areas touched on by the workshops during the conference.

Lack of funds and, therefore, insufficient staff was universally expressed as a most serious problem for State and local agencies. Some felt that parsimonious funding indicated a lack of commitment to equal opportunity on the part of legislative bodies. As one participant put it, "Most of these enforcement agencies do not have the number of people that are necessary to do the job, for the simple fact that, I guess, it is not intended that they be too strong in whatever they do." The group also recognized the lack of

coordination (and even communication) among Federal, State, and local agencies as another serious problem.

There was agreement that Federal, State, and local agencies must open lines of communication and provide for some type of cooperation. One participant stated, "We need to get into an atmosphere of working together rather than of distrusting each other." Eastablishing collaborative relationships with nongovernmental, private, civil rights organizations was given as one way to increase the atmosphere of working together.

Under the topic of strengthening State and local agencies, participants discussed the value of building a broad base of support among diversified segments of any State or community. Some risks were pointed out, such as whether it was wise to depend upon non-civil-rights officials for support of civil rights policies. But participants suggested that the narrow base consisting only of women or only of minorities involves far greater risk in its inherent weakness. A constituent base representing the business and economic community, the political structures of a jurisdiction, the legal profession, as well as the religious and voluntary groups, is able to "speak for" the community with more power and conviction than a narrow parochial group. It was suggested that it might be necessary and wise to take time to train and sensitize so-called "non-civil-rights" types and to involve them in advisory boards and commissions.

The participants expressed, in various ways, the need for central information services in order to keep abreast of legal and substantive developments in the field. Smaller States and small jurisdictions especially voiced the need for such services. The International

Association of Official Human Rights Agencies is setting up a legal resource center, which will include all court decisions, administrative regulations, State, county, and city briefs, as well as statutes and guidelines. The funds for establishing the center were provided by a grant from EEOC. Additionally, the National Clearinghouse Library of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is being developed as a repository for a wide range of civil rights information.

The relationship of the U.S. Civil Service Commission to State and local governments was also discussed. It was noted that the basic involvement comes through the Federal Intergovernmental Personnel Act. In terms of affirmative action in public employment, the Civil Service Commission is involved in three different programs: (1) financial assistance through grants; (2) where there is a regulatory relationship, such as through the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare, Labor, and Defense; and, (3) technical assistance in personnel administration and training.

The role of the U.S. Department of Justice in relation to public employment was discussed, and participants learned that it has considerable impact under Title VI, which gives initiative power to the Attorney General to institute lawsuits when there is violation of Federal laws or regulations. The Department also has brought public employment suits on referral from other agencies having jurisdiction in the area, such as EEOC and LEAA.

Two recent developments, regarding the response of Federal courts of appeals to suits involving public employment, interested the participants. Increasingly, the courts are requiring specific

numerical hiring or promotion goals where prior exclusion has been shown. And the courts of appeals increasingly have come to the position that, where economic harm has been shown on a class basis and back-pay entitled, the burden shifts to the employer to demonstrate to any particular member of the class as to why he or she should not be recompensed.

The employment problems of women concerned one of the workshops, especially in regard to double standards of pay, one for men and a lower one for women. Recognizing that most employers are male, it was suggested that employers need to be sensitized and made aware of the problem from a perspective other than "cheap labor." Illustrations of employer training sessions for this purpose were shared. Means to hold employers accountable were also suggested, one being publicity of specific situations in the news media, another being the courts and wide publicity of the cases. Whatever steps may be taken, it was pointed out that it is important to tackle only as much at a time as can be dealt with successfully. It is possible to build on small successes into an expanding base, until more widespread changes take place.

The brevity of this summary may not do justice to the deliberations of the workshops of the conference. However, the high degree of interest and concern of the participants is shown by the fact that, in each of the three groups, strong intentions to continue the communications after the conference and expand them even on a statewide basis were expressed before the workshops adjourned.

SPECIAL INTEREST SEMINARS

Participants had the opportunity to attend one of four concurrent special interest seminars. "Racism and Sexism: Competition or Coalition?" led by Carol Kummerfeld, director of the Women's Rights Unit, USCCR; "Affirmative Action: Implications of DeFunis," led by Harold Fleming, president of the Potomac Institute, Washington, D.C.; "Bilingualism-Biculturalism," led by Ruth Cubero, deputy director of the Commission's Northeastern Regional Office; and, "Boston School Desegregation," led by Muriel Snowden, director of Freedom House, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

APPENDIX I

REGISTERED PARTICIPANTS

Adams, Dorothy
Massachusetts Commission
Against Discrimination
120 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Aucoin, Terry Ann
Director
Maine Human Rights Commission
State House
Augusta, Maine 04330

Barniak, Kathleen
Educational/Instructione
1229 Albany Avenue
Hartford, Connecticut

Barr, Pat
Crow Hill Road
Arlington, Vermont 05250

Beecher, B. Nancy
Chairperson
Massachusetts Civil Service Commission
294 Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 01810

Bellum, Bruce A.
Personnel Assistant
Department of Personnel
165 Capitol Avenue
Hartford, Connecticut 06105

Bergin, Kay
Executive Director
Commission on Status of Women
6 Grand Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06115

Bernstein, Julius
Chairman
Massachusetts SAC, USCCR
27 School Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108

Boone, Arthur R.
Executive Secretary
Rhode Island Commission on Human Rights
244 Broad Street
Providence, Rhode Island 02903

Bressler, Charles
Assistant Director
Human Relations-Youth Resources
Commission
320 Washington Street
Brookline, Massachusetts 02146

Briggs, Samuel L.
Executive Director
Norwalk Human Relations Commission
33 South Main Street
Norwalk, Connecticut 06851

Brown, Beatrice
Chairperson
Norwalk Economic Opportunity Now
33 South Main Street
South Norwalk, Connecticut 06854

Brown, Brad
Vice Chairman
Massachusetts SAC, USCCR
Box 95
East Falmouth, Massachusetts 02536

Buckles, Vivian
Associate Assistant
Women's Bureau
1612-C JFK Federal Building
Boston, Massachusetts 02203

Burney, Helen
Research Analyst
Maine Manpower Affairs
20 Union Street
Augusta, Maine 04330

Butler, Linda M.
Recruitment Supervisor
Massachusetts Affirmative Action
Referral System
294 Washington Street - Rm. 743
Boston, Massachusetts 02108

Chang, Caroline
President
Boston Chinese Community Health
Services
c/o 199 Harrison Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02111

Chaplain, Sylvia
Chairperson
New Hampshire SAC, USCCR
7 Wendover Way
Bedford, New Hampshire 03102

Chouinard, Jacquel-Anne
Deputy Commissioner
Vermont Personnel Department
110 State Street
Montpelier, Vermont 05602

Clarenbach, Kathryn
Chairperson
Wisconsin Commission on the Status of Women
433 Lowell Hall
610 Langdon Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Coffey, Virginia
Consultant
University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio

Cowan, Martha A.
Commissioner
Human Rights Commission
City Hall
Worcester, Massachusetts 01608

Crame, Joseph L.
7101 N. Cicero
Lincolnwood, Illinois 60646

Davis, Jim
Director
Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination
120 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts

DeLaricheliere, Julie
Governor's Committee on the Status of Women
32½ North Winooski Avenue
Burlington, Vermont 05401

Diaz, Antonio
Deputy Director of Manpower
A.B.C.D., Inc.
815 Main Street
Bridgeport, Connecticut 06604

Doran, J.
Compliance Officer
Rhode Island Commission for Human Rights
244 Broad Street
Providence, Rhode Island 02903

Doucette, Susan
Special Assistant
Women's Bureau
U.S. Department of Labor
1612-C JFK Building
Boston, Massachusetts 02203

Dyer, Linda
Employee Representative
Maine State Employment Association
65 State Street
Augusta, Maine 04330

Evans, Theodis
Executive Director
YMCA
8304 South Morgan
Chicago, Illinois 60620

Evereteze, Clorade
Executive Director
Civic Unity Committee
Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02159

Ezzy, Shirley Elias
Maine SAC, USCCR
Office of the Governor
State House
Augusta, Maine 04430

Fairbanks, Pamela W.
Coordinator - Field Investigations
Mayor's Office of Human Rights
City Hall
Boston, Massachusetts 02201

Femia, Carol A.
Director of Social Services
Town of Farmington
Town Hall
Farmington, Connecticut 06032

Ferry, Rev. Daniel
New Hampshire SAC, USCCR
28 Amherst Street
Milford, New Hampshire 03055

Firestone, Berel
Executive Director
New Hampshire Commission for Human Rights
66 South Street
Concord, New Hampshire 03301

Flanagan, Peggy
EEO Officer
Office of Human Rights
City Hall Plaza
Government Center
Boston, Massachusetts

Gittes, Betty
Staff Attorney
Municipal Women's Project
140 Claredon Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Gordon, Denis
Deputy Chief, Employment Section
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Gottesman, William
Executive Assistant
Human Relations Commission
Memorial Building
Framingham, Massachusetts 01701

Guild, Raymond W.
Deputy Director
Boston Indian Council, Inc.
1055 Huntington Avenue
Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts 02130

Hairston, James M., Jr.
EEO Officer
New Bedford Human Relations Commission
222 Union Street, Room 308
New Bedford, Massachusetts

Harris, Andrew J., Sr.
Executive Director
New Britain Human Relations Commission
27 West Main Street
New Britain, Connecticut

Hawley, Eleanor
Secretary
Human Rights Commission
455 Main Street
Worcester, Massachusetts 01608

Healy, Maureen
Federal Women's Program Coordinator
Office of the Regional Director
1700-C JFK Federal Building
Boston, Massachusetts 02203

Healy, Regina
Commissioner
Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination
120 Tremont
Boston, Massachusetts

Henley, Patricia
Director
Community Affairs
New York State Executive Chambers
2 World Trade Center
New York, New York 10047

Hillman, Gracia M.
Supervisor
Referrals & Classification & Statistics
Massachusetts Affirmative Action Referral Office
294 Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108

Holland, Daniel
Director
Office of Manpower Services
52 State Street
Montpelier, Vermont

Howard, Myron T.
Director, Field Operations
Connecticut Manpower Executives Association
285 Golden Hill Street
Bridgeport, Connecticut 06604

Janey, Daisy
Affirmative Action Officer
Department of Mental Health
190 Portlant Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02114

Jeany, Kenneth
Investigator
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
150 Causeway Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Jordan, George
Recruitment Administrator
Boston Area Construction Project
767 Dudley Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02125

Joseph, Caryn
Administrative Assistant
Governor's Commission on the Status of Women
100 Cambridge Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Kelly, Patricia A.
Management Assistant
Women's Bureau
U.S. Department of Labor
1612-C JFK Federal Building
Boston, Massachusetts 02203

Kemsley, Bill
Chairperson
Vermont SAC, USCCR
Box 92, RFD #-1
Missing Link Road
Bellows Falls, Vermont 05101

Kent, Karen
Chairperson
Governor's Commission on Status of Women
Pavilion Office Building
Montpelier, Vermont 05602

Kirby, Bill
Massachusetts SAC, USCCR
20 Yale Avenue
Wakefield, Massachusetts

Knight, Muriel
Consumer Education Specialist
Action for Boston Community Development
150 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02118

Little, Benjamin W.
Executive Director
Providence Human Relations Committee
56 Washington Street
Providence, Rhode Island 02907

McDaniel, Lillian
Member
Rhode Island SAC, USCCR
1619 Broad Street
Cranston, Rhode Island 02905

McKenna, Margaret
Executive Director
IAOHRA - International Association of Official Human Rights Agencies
1625 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

MacLeod, Roger
Assistant Director, Compliance
Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination
120 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02028

Malone, Joann A.
Assistant Supervisor, Recruitment
Massachusetts Division of Civil Service
294 Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108

Massey, June D.
Chairperson
Rhode Island Women's Political Caucus
P.O. Box 844 Annex Station
Providence, Rhode Island 02901

Mela, T.
Attorney
Boston Legal Assistance
505 Columbus
Boston, Massachusetts

Middleton, Jack
Executive Director
Office of Urban Affairs
P.O. Box 7008
New Haven, Connecticut 06519

Morse, Phoebe
Assistant Attorney General
Pavilion Office Building
Montpelier, Vermont 05602

Munsey, Sandra G.
Personnel Management Specialist
U.S. Civil Service Commission
Room 906, McCormack PO & CH Building
Boston, Massachusetts 02052

Nichols, Ann
Affirmative Action Program Officer
Connecticut State Department of Personnel
165 Capitol Avenue
Hartford, Connecticut 06115

Nobel, Lisa E.
Executive Director
Governor's Committee on Status of Women
100 Cambridge Street, Room 2108
Boston, Massachusetts 02202

O'Brien, Rae Ann
Research Analyst
Maine Human Rights Commission
The State House
Augusta, Maine

O'Hara, Frank
Student Assistant
Office of Urban Affairs
P.O. Box 7008
New Haven, Connecticut 06511

O'Hara, Robert J.M.
Chief, Intergovernmental Personnel Division
U.S. Civil Service Commission
906 Post Office Building
Boston, Massachusetts 02109

Osolnik, Maureen
State Liaison Officer
U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Room 1500 JFK Building
Boston, Massachusetts 02203

Parrish, Daniel
EEO Contract Compliance Officer
Hartford Human Relations Commission
550 Main Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06103

Parrish, Dorothy
Research Director
Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination
120 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108

Peloso, Thomas J., Jr.
Deputy Executive Director
Michigan Department of Civil Rights
1200 Sixth Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Philbrook, Sarah C.
Personnel Recruitment Chief
State of Vermont Department of Personnel
110 State Street
Montpelier, Vermont 05602

Polchies, Terry
Chairman - Indian Sub-Committee
82 Main Street
Houlton, Maine 04730

Putnam, Glendora McI.
Chairperson
Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination
120 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Radovsky, Barbara
Chairperson
Framingham Human Relations Commission
Memorial Building
Framingham, Massachusetts 01701

Rivera, Raymond L.
Employment/Guidance Coordinator
Urban League of Greater Hartford
1229 Albany Avenue
Hartford, Connecticut 06112

Robertson, Peter
Director Government Liaison
U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D.C.

Robinson, Gary
Assistant Secretary, Human Services
Commonwealth of Massachusetts
100 Cambridge Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02119

Rose, John, Jr.
Acting Chairperson
Connecticut SAC, USCCR
799 Main Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06103

Rose, Lenore
Member
Women's Political Caucus
P.O. Box 844 Annex Station
Providence, Rhode Island 02901

Rudman, Irene
Massachusetts SAC, USCCR
13 Columbia Street
Watertown, Massachusetts 02172

Sappier, James G.
Federal Coordinator
Federal Regional Council
JFK Federal Building
Boston, Massachusetts 02203

Schroeder, Patricia
EEO Specialist
Department of Personnel
State House
Augusta, Maine 04330

Shechter, Ruth
President
NAHRW - National Association of Human Rights Workers
527 W. 39th Street
Kansas City, Missouri 64111

Shelton, Howard
Director, Contract Compliance
Mayor's Office Human Rights
City Hall Square
Boston, Massachusetts 02201

Shephard, A.
EEOC Administrator
State of Rhode Island
State House
Providence, Rhode Island

Sherwood, Wallace
Commissioner
Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination
120 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Skerritt, Walter E.W.
Personnel Management Specialist
U.S. Civil Service Commission
310 Federal Building - Post Office
Providence, Rhode Island 02903

Small, Charles A.
Coordinator Affirmative Action
Mayor's Office
City Hall
Boston, Massachusetts 02201

Smythe, Mabel M.
Vice President
Phelps-Stokes Fund
10 East 87th Street
New York, New York 10028

Spruill, William
Executive Director
Commission on Equal Opportunities
770 Chapel Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06510

Swainbank, Louise
Vermont SAC, USCCR
49 Summer Street
St. Johnsbury, Vermont 05819

Talbot, Robert E.
Consultant
Bureau of Public Administration
162 College Avenue
Orono, Maine 04473

Theodore, Athena
President, Massachusetts Chapter
Women's Equity Action League
27 Turning Mill Road
Lexington, Massachusetts 02173

Wilson, Timothy P.
Chairperson
Maine Human Rights Commission
State House
Augusta, Maine 04430

Wrenn, Licille
Administrative Assistant
Executive Office of Human Services
Commonwealth of Massachusetts
100 Cambridge Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02129

Wright, Thomas H.
Director of Administration
Massachusetts Commission Against
Discrimination
120 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02118

Woodward, James
Assistant District Manager
Congressman John J. Moakley
1900-C JFK Federal Building
Boston, Massachusetts 02203

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